

Message Text

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FOR ARA ONLY

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TAGS: SHUM, PN
S UBJ: DRAFT REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES --
PA NAMA, 1978

REF: STATE 215083

1. SETTING:

PANAMA IS A REPUBLIC GOVERNED UNDER A CONSTITUTION
PROMULGATED IN 1972. THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT CAME INTO
POWER IN 1968, FOLLOWING A COUP BY THE NATIONAL GUARD.

A TRANSITORY PROVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION GRANTED
GENERAL OMAR TORRIJOS, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL
GUARD, BROAD POWERS AS "MAXIMUM LEADER OF THE PANAMANIAN
REVOLUTION" FOR A SIX-YEAR PERIOD ENDING IN OCTOBER 1978.
AT THIS WRITING, TORRIJOS HAS ANNOUNCED PLANS TO RETIRE
TO THE BARRACKS BUT TO RETAIN HIS ROLE AS COMMANDER-IN-
CHIEF AND, THUS, A DOMINANT POSITION IN THE GOVERNMENT.
HE HAS ALSO CHOSEN HIS CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND
VICE-PRESIDENT. ELECTIONS FOR THOSE POSITIONS WILL BE
HELD IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES

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ON OCTOBER 11.

AS A RESULT OF BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PRESSURES,
THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA IS CURRENTLY DOING SOME RE-
THINKING OF ITS POLITICAL STRUCTURE. A "HIGH-LEVEL
COMMISSION", INSTITUTED AT THE BEHEST OF GENERAL TORRIJOS
AND COMPOSED OF BOTH PRO- AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT FACTIONS,
BEGAN MEETING IN AUGUST AND IS EXPECTED TO RECOMMEND SUCH

"DEMOCRATIZING" REFORMS AS THE LEGALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND A ROLE IN THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS FOR THE ESSENTIALLY POWERLESS NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. MOREOVER, TORRIJOS HAS INDICATED THERE WILL BE DIRECT ELECTIONS, WITH FULL POLITICAL PARTY PARTICIPATION, FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT IN 1984.

OF UTMOST IMPORTANCE TO PANAMA'S POLITICAL/ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY IS THE FACT OF THE NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, UNDER WHICH PANAMA WILL GAIN JURISDICTION OVER WHAT IS NOW THE CANAL ZONE IN 1979 AND FULL CONTROL OF THE CANAL BY THE YEAR 2000. THE GOVERNMENT IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE IMPACT THE TREATIES WILL HAVE ON PANAMA'S STAGNANT ECONOMY AND SPEAKS IN TERMS OF MAKING PANAMA'S NEW RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER THE TREATIES A TRULY NATIONAL EFFORT FROM WHICH ALL WILL BENEFIT. INDEED, THE GOVERNMENT DOES STRIVE TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BENEFITS TO THE POOREST SECTORS OF THE POPULATION, BUT THESE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN IMPEDED SOMEWHAT BY THE COUNTRY'S CONTINUING ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

2. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING
FREEDOM FROM:

A) TORTURE

TORTURE IS NOT A POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT AND
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IS NOT PRACTICED SYSTEMATICALLY IN PANAMA

B) CRUEL, INHUMAN, OR DEGRADING TREATMENT OR
PUNISHMENT

CRIMINAL PUNISHMENTS ARE LIMITED TO FINES AND/OR PRISON TERMS. THE MAXIMUM PRISON TERM IS 20 YEARS. THERE IS NO CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

PHYSICAL CONDITIONS IN PANAMANIAN JAILS REPORTEDLY ARE PRIMITIVE. PHYSICAL ABUSE OF PRISONERS IS NOT UNUSUAL. WHEN IT OCCURS IT IS NORMALLY LIMITED TO MILD BEATINGS. THOUGH OFFICIALLY CONDEMNED, IT IS SOMETIMES TOLERATED BY THOSE IN AUTHORITY. NORMALLY, PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT IS GIVEN TO U.S. CITIZEN ARRESTEES. THE EMBASSY IS AWARE OF ONE ALLEGED INCIDENT IN 1978 OF CRUEL, DEGRADING TREATMENT OF A THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONAL.

IN JUNE 1978, A PANAMANIAN UNDER INTERROGATION REPORTEDLY DIED AS A RESULT OF A BEATING BY A NATIONAL GUARDSMAN. IT IS THE EMBASSY'S UNDERSTANDING THAT THIS INCIDENT IS BEING INVESTIGATED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND HAS

BEEN BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE INTER-AMERICAN
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

C) ARBITRARY ARREST OR IMPRISONMENT

SOME PANAMANIAN CLAIM THE OCCASIONAL USE OF
ARRESTS AS "OBJECT LESSONS" -- A PERSON IS JAILED OVER
THE WEEKEND, WITH NO CHARGE, AND ON MONDAY MORNING IS
TOLD THAT IT WAS A MISTAKE AND IS RELEASED. SUCH CASES
ARE NOT COMMON. THE EMBASSY IS AWARE OF ONE INCIDENT IN
1978 IN WHICH A U.S. CITIZEN REPORTEDLY WAS ARRESTED FOR

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REMOVING HIS SHIRT IN PUBLIC, AND, IN THE COURSE OF HIS
TRIAL, WAS BEATEN SEVERAL TIMES.

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D) DENIAL OF FAIR PUBLIC TRIAL

AN ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE, ESTABLISHED UNDER
DECREE LAW 342 OF 1969, USED TO ALLOW INTERROGATION ,
JUDGMENT, AND SENTENCING, ALL WITHOUT INTERNATIONALLY
RECOGNIZED STANDARD

GOVERNMENT WAS VERY SPARING IN THE APPLICATION OF THIS
DECREE (INVOKING IT ON FOUR OCCASIONS IN 1976 FOR THE
FIRST TIME IN SEVERAL YEARS, AND NOT AT ALL IN 1977), AND
IT WAS REVOKED ON DECEMBER 2, 1977.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A VERY INFORMAL "NIGHT
COURT", CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS WITH WHICH THE EMBASSY IS
FAMILIAR, PRIMARILY NARCOTICS CASES INVOLVING U.S.
CITIZENS, ARE CONDUCTED BY DEPOSITION. THE ACCUSED IS

NOT AT HIS TRIAL. THE DECISION IS MADE BY A JUDGE UPON CONSIDERATION OF WRITTEN PROSECUTION AND DEFENSE PRESENTATIONS WHICH ARE AVAILABLE FOR PERUSAL AFTER THE FACT. THE NATIONAL GUARD G-2 (THE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BRANCH) HAS THE DE FACTO RIGHT OF REVIEW OF ALL ASPECTS OF PROCEDURE, A RIGHT WHICH IS EXERCISED IN ALL NARCOTICS CASES SINCE THEY ARE CONSIDERED "NATIONAL SECURITY" CASES.

ARTICLE 192 OF THE 1972 CONSTITUTION PROVIDES THAT MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES ARE INDEPENDENT, SUBJECT ONLY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND THE LAW. IN PRACTICE, THE JUDICIARY APPEARS TO BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE INFLUENCE OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

3. GOVERNMENT POLICIES RELATING TO THE FULFILLMENT OF SUCH VITAL NEEDS AS FOOD, SHELTER, HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATION

THE GOVERNMENT OF PANAMA HAS EXPLICITLY NOTED THE NEED TO IMPROVE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE POORER ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION AND HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT EFFORTS TO DO SO. ITS NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN STRESSES TWO MAJOR OBJECTIVES: (1) A HIGHER RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, AND (2) A WIDER, MORE EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF THE BENEFITS OF THIS GROWTH. THESE OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED INTO EXPLICIT GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS PROVIDING VITAL SOCIAL SERVICES SUCH AS FREE EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AT MINIMAL COST, PRICE CONTROLS ON BASIC FOODSTUFFS, AND SUBSIDIZED HOUSING PROJECTS.

RECOGNIZING THE WIDE RURAL/URBAN INCOME AND DEVELOPMENT DISPARITIES AND THE IMPORTANCE OF RURAL AREAS TO NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT GOALS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT POLICY, THE BASIC GOAL OF WHICH IS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE "CAMPESENO" (PEASANT). MAJOR PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE EMERGED FROM THIS POLICY INCLUDE: AN EXPANSION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AND A REVISED CURRICULUM MORE RELEVANT TO RURAL LIFE; AN EXPANSION OF THE HEALTH SERVICES DELIVERY SYSTEM, INCLUDING FAMILY PLANNING, WITH HEALTH CENTERS CONSTRUCTED IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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REMOTE AREAS AND UTILIZATION OF PARAMEDICAL PERSONNEL; THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARKET TOWNS TO PROVIDE INFRASTRUCTURE AND SERVICES NECESSARY TO RURAL AREAS; INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS TO HELP SMALL FARMERS INCREASE THEIR PRODUCTION AND INCOMES; AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF RURAL

ROADS TO IMPROVE ACCESS OF REMOTE POPULATIONS TO MARKETS AND OTHER SERVICES.

FOR MOST OF THESE ACTIVITIES THE GOVERNMENT HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS COMMITMENT NOT ONLY THROUGH SPECIFIC POLICY STATEMENTS, BUT WITH ACTION PROGRAMS REQUIRING SIGNIFICANT INVESTMENT OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT BUDGETARY RESOURCES AS WELL AS THE INCURRENCE OF SUBSTANTIAL NATIONAL DEBT IN ORDER TO OBTAIN INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE. PANAMA'S EFFORTS IN THESE AREAS HAVE BEEN HAMPERED BY AN ECONOMIC RECESSION INFLUENCED TO A LARGE DEGREE BY INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC FACTORS. HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT HAS CONTINUED TO MAKE THE EFFORTS, AND SOME SACRIFICES, NECESSARY TO REAL PROGRESS IN PROVIDING FOR THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE POOR.

TO PULL ITSELF OUT OF THE ON-GOING SLUMP, THE GOVERNMENT IS COUNTING HEAVILY ON A POSITIVE IMPACT FROM THE NEW PANAMA CANAL TREATIES, WHICH ARE TO COME INTO FORCE NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 1, 1979, TO STIMULATE ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AND GROWTH. ALTHOUGH PANAMA'S TREATY IMPLEMENTATION PROGRAM IS STILL VERY MUCH IN THE PLANNING STAGES, THE GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED THAT THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM THE NEW TREATY RELATIONSHIP WILL BE "FOR THE PEOPLE".

4. RESPECT FOR CIVIL AND POLITICAL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING:

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FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IS GUARANTEED UNDER ARTICLE
36 OF THE CONSTITUTION. HOWEVER, THE PRESS AND BROADCAST

NEWS MEDIA, THOUGH NOT SUBJECT TO PRIOR GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP, PRACTICE SELF-CENSORSHIP AND RECEIVE INFORMAL GOVERNMENT GUIDANCE AS TO WHAT SHOULD BE PLAYED UP OR DOWN. DECREE LAW 343 OF 1969, WHICH TOGETHER WITH LAW 342 (SEE SECTION 2.D.) DEFINED THE RULES OF SELF-CENSORSHIP, WAS ABROGATED IN FEBRUARY 1978. A NEW LAW RE-DEFINING THE LIMITATIONS OF THE MEDIA WAS PROMISED BY THE GOVERNMENT, TO BE WRITTEN IN CONSULTATION WITH MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES, BUT IT HAS YET TO BE ENACTED.

IN GENERAL, THERE HAS BEEN GREATER FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION SINCE THE TIME OF THE PANAMA CANAL TREATY PLEBISCITE DEBATE IN 1977. OPPONENTS OF THE TORRIJOS REGIME HAVE BEEN ABLE TO SPEAK OUT PUBLICLY, ALTHOUGH SOME CLAIM THAT THEY DO NOT RECEIVE ADEQUATE MEDIA COVERAGE WHEN THEY DO SO. WHEN SPEAKING PRIVATELY, PANAMANIAN GENERALLY SEEM TO FEEL FREE TO SAY WHAT THEY THINK, BUT DO EXERCISE SOME CAUTION.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION IS GUARANTEED UNDER ARTICLE 34 OF THE CONSTITUTION AND IS RESPECTED IN PRACTICE.

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FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY IS GUARANTEED UNDER ARTICLE 37 OF THE CONSTITUTION. DECREE LAW 341 OF 1969 USED TO CURTAIL FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY IN PANAMA CITY AND IN COLON BY PROHIBITING RALLIES OR OPEN MEETINGS OF THOSE OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT. STUDENTS WERE ALLOWED MORE LEEWAY THAN WAS THE GENERAL POPULATION AND TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THAT FACT. DURING THE CANAL TREATY PLEBISCITE DEBATE OF SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER 1977, ENFORCEMENT OF DECREE LAW 341 WAS RELAXED, AND THE LAW WAS REVOKED ON DECEMBER 2, 1977. THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEE HAS NOT BEEN RESPECTED SINCE THEN.

B) FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN THE COUNTRY, FOREIGN TRAVEL AND EMIGRATION.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT WITHIN PANAMA IS GUARANTEED UNDER ARTICLE 26 OF THE CONSTITUTION AND IS RESPECTED IN PRACTICE. FOREIGN TRAVEL AND EMIGRATION ARE ALSO ENTIRELY FREE. ALTHOUGH PROHIBITED UNDER ARTICLE 29 OF THE CONSTITUTION, FORCIBLE EXPATRIATION WAS IN THE PAST A PREFERRED GOVERNMENT TACTIC FOR DEALING WITH OUTSPOKEN DISSIDENTS. AS RECENTLY AS 1976, 18 PERSONS WERE EXILED WITHOUT TRIAL. BEGINNING IN MAY 1977, HOWEVER, THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN TO ALLOW EXILES TO RETURN. IN APRIL 1978, GENERAL TORRIJOS DECLARED THAT ALL EXILES COULD RETURN TO PANAMA WITHOUT FEAR OF REPRISALS. MANY HAVE DONE SO.

C) FREEDOM TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS

UNDER THE 1972 CONSTITUTION, 505 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES ARE ELECTED BY POPULAR VOTE FOR SIX-YEAR TERMS. ROUGHLY 70-80 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORAL POPULATION (ESTIMATES DIFFER) PARTICIPATED IN THE ELECTIONS HELD IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AUGUST 1978. THE 505 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES ARE ESSENTIALLY LOCAL OFFICIALS WHO, AT PRESENT, HAVE LITTLE REAL POWER AS A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. HOWEVER, THEY SERVE IN REPRESENTATIVE BODIES AT THE COMMUNITY AND PROVINCIAL LEVELS, IN A SYSTEM WHICH HAS RESULTED IN GREATER PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE AT THOSE LEVELS AND IN A MORE DIRECT FUNNELING OF LOCAL CONCERNS AND INTERESTS TO THE NATIONAL LEVEL THAN WAS THE CASE PREVIOUSLY. THE GOVERNMENT ALSO CONSULTS WITH A BROAD RANGE OF IMPORTANT NON-GOVERNMENT GROUPS AND ASSOCIATIONS DURING THE FORMULATION OF POLICY AND INITIATIVES.

LABOR UNIONS ARE GENERALLY FREE TO ORGANIZE AND OPERATE IN PANAMA UNDER THE LABOR CODE OF 1972. MEMBERSHIP IS VOLUNTARY. ABOUT 10-12 PERCENT OF THE PANAMANIAN WORK FORCE IS UNIONIZED. ORGANIZATIONAL AND OPERATIONAL FREEDOMS WERE REDUCED BY A LAW PROMULGATED AT THE BEGINNING OF 1977 IN AN ATTEMPT TO RESTORE BUSINESS CONFIDENCE AND STIMULATE THE ECONOMY. THE UNIONS ARE GENERALLY FREE OF OUTRIGHT GOVERNMENT CONTROL OR OPEN MEDDLING AND ARE RELATIVELY FREE TO CRITICIZE OFFICIAL ECONOMIC AND LABOR POLICIES. THE GOVERNMENT FREQUENTLY SOLICITS LABOR'S VIEWS BEFORE MAKING DOMESTIC POLICY DECISIONS.

CIVILIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS IS MODIFIED BY THE ACTIVE ROLE PLAYED BY THE NATIONAL GUARD AT ALL LEVELS. MILITARY ZONE COMMANDERS ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED WITH THE DAILY ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES AND ACTIVELY MANAGE THE NATION'S DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, COORDINATING AND DIRECTING THE WORK OF THE VARIOUS CIVILIAN AGENCIES. GUARD OFFICERS ARE DETAILED TO

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MANAGEMENT AND SUPERVISORY POSITIONS IN SUCH DIVERSE PROJECTS AS HOUSING, WATERSHED CONSERVATION, AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN PANAMA, BASICALLY AUTHORITARIAN, IS UNDERGOING A PERIOD OF LIBERALIZATION. THE CONSTITUTION OF 1972 PROVIDES FOR A NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED BY POPULAR VOTE, BUT LACKING IN LEGISLATIVE RESPONSIBILITY. THE EXECUTIVE AND OTHER LEGISLATIVE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT, WHICH HOLD THE REAL POWER IN THE COUNTRY (PRESIDENCY, CABINET, JUDICIARY, AND NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION), ARE EITHER ELECTED INDIRECTLY BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OR, AT PRESENT, APPOINTED BY GENERAL TORRIJOS. FOR REVISION OF THIS SYSTEM, A "HIGH-LEVEL COMMISSION", COMPOSED OF BOTH PRO- AND ANTI-GOVERNMENT FACTIONS, BEGAN MEETING IN AUGUST 1978 AND IS TO COMPLETE BY MID-SEPTEMBER ITS DISCUSSION OF AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS (PRIMARILY FOR REFORM OF THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS), THE LEGALIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES, AND OTHER POLITICAL REFORMS.

POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE BEEN BANNED SINCE 1969, BUT THE BAN HAS NOT BEEN STRICTLY ENFORCED. SOME PARTIES HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITIES AND STRUCTURES OVER THE PAST TEN YEARS, AND SOME PARTICIPATED IN THE 1977 PLEBISCITE DEBATE ON THE PANAMA CANAL TREATIES. SINCE THEN, OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE

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BEEN QUITE FREE TO OPERATE, ALBEIT WITHOUT LEGAL SANCTION, AND HAVE BEEN OUTSPOKEN IN THEIR CRITICISM OF THE TORRIJOS REGIME. ALTHOUGH THE PARTIES OPTED OUT OF THE 1978 ELECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES, A FEW OPPOSITION POLITICAL FIGURES DID CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.

5. GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE AND RECORD REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

THE PANAMANIAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN AN ACTIVE ADVOCATE

OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL FORA.

AT THE GOVERNMENT'S INVITATION, THE INTER-AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION VISITED PANAMA FOR A WEEK IN NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1977 TO INVESTIGATE VARIOUS CHARGES. ITS REPORT IS STILL BEING PREPARED.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 1978 ELECTIONS FOR PANAMA'S 505 COMMUNITY REPRESENTATIVES, THE GOVERNMENT INVITED A THREE-MAN OAS OBSERVER TEAM AND REPRESENTATIVES OF ABOUT 13 U.S. AND LATIN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES TO OVERSEE THE ELECTIONS. THESE OBSERVERS APPEARED TO HAVE FULL FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT.

THE "AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT 1977" DID NOT CONTAIN A SECTION ON PANAMA. A LOCAL NEWSPAPER ("MATUTINO" OF MAY 5, 1978) REPORTED TWO MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AS HAVING STATED ON A VENEZUELAN TELEVISION PROGRAM, "TWO GENERATIONS", THAT PANAMA IS ONE OF THE FEW COUNTRIES IN LATING AMERICA IN WHICH HUMAN RIGHTS ARE IN FULL FORCE AND IN WHICH THERE ARE NO POLITICAL PRISONERS. THIS REPORT HAS NOT YET BEEN CONFIRMED BY AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL.

FREEDOM HOUSE, IN A SURVEY PUBLISHED IN EARLY 1978, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GAVE PANAMA LOW RATINGS IN A COMPARATIVE SCALE ON POLITICAL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES. HOWEVER, IT JUDGED THE "OUTLOOK FOR FREEDOM" TO BE FAVORABLE AND IN WRITTEN COMMENTARY ACKNOWLEDGED SOME OF THE IMPORTANT STEPS PANAMA HAS TAKEN TOWARD IMPROVING ITS RECORD IN THE LAST YEAR ("FREEDOM AT ISSUE", JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1978). DIKEOS

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